

Message Text

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ACTION SS-25

INFO OCT-01 ADP-00 SSO-00 /026 W

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O 071218 Z APR 73 ZFF4

FM AMEMBASSY WARSAW

TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 1634

INFO AMEMBASSY BUDAPEST IMMEDIATE

AMEMBASSY JAKARTA IMMEDIATE

AMEMBASSY OTTAWA IMMEDIATE

AMEMBASSY SAIGON IMMEDIATE

WHITE HOUSE IMMEDIATE

USDEL JEC PARIS IMMEDIATE

C O N F I D E N T I A L WARSAW 1634

EXDIS

E. O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: MARR, VS, PL, MU

SUBJECT: ICCS: POLISH AND HUNGARIAN OBSTRUCTIONISM

REFS: (A) STATE 064299; (B) STATE 059898

1. IN ABSENCE OF FOREIGN MINISTER (WHO IS EN ROUTE HOME TODAY FROM BELGRADE), I SAW ACTING FOREIGN MINISTER TREPCZYNSKI AT 11:30 A. M. LOCAL AND MADE REPRESENTATION TO HIM AS INSTRUCTED, CLOSELY FOLLOWING LANGUAGE OF REF B. TREPCZYNSKI TOOK CAREFUL NOTES.

2. RESPONDING, TREPCZYNSKI SAID THAT POLISH GOVERNMENT WAS INTERESTED IN FULL RESPECT FOR THE PARIS AGREEMENT. THEY HAD ENTERED INTO ICCS ROLE AT THE INVITATION OF THE INTERESTED PARTIES BECAUSE THEY WISHED TO SERVE THE CAUSE OF PEACE, OF GOOD RELATIONS BETWEEN THEMSELVES AND ALL THE PARTIES, INCLUDING THE UNITED STATES, AND THE DETENTE IN SOUTHEAST ASIA. THEY WERE AWARE THEY WERE ENTERING INTO A COMPLICATED SITUATION. IT HAD PROVEN TO BE VERY DIFFICULT FOR THE ICCS TO ACCOMPLISH ITS MISSION. THERE WERE ONLY 1200 PEOPLE INVOLVED, A SMALL NUMBER IN VIEW OF THE OBJECTIVE OF ASSURING PEACE
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IN SOUTH VIETNAM. MOREOVER, CONDITIONS IN SOUTH VIETNAM WERE VERY DIFFICULT. THERE HAD BEEN MANY VIOLATIONS BY THE SOUTH VIETNAMESE FORCES. SECURITY CONDITIONS FOR THE POLISH DELEGATION WERE VERY DIFFICULT. BUT THE POLISH GOVERNMENT WAS INTERESTED IN CLEARING THIS SITUATION UP AND OF FULFILLING ITS INTENTION OF MAKING A CONTRIBUTION TO PEACE. AMBASSADOR WASILEWSKI HAD ARRIVED IN WARSAW AND IN CONVERSATIONS WITH HIM, THE POLISH GOVERNMENT WANTS TO SEE WHAT CAN BE DONE TO CLEAR THE SITUATION UP. TREPCZYNSKI EXPECTED TO SEE HIS HUNGARIAN COUNTERPART, VICE MINISTER JARJAI, IN THE NEXT FEW DAYS FOR CONSULTATIONS. THE POLES WANT TO MAKE A CONTRIBUTION, BUT THE COMMISSION HAS VERY LIMITED POSSIBILITIES. THAT IS WHY THEY WOULD NOT LIKE TO SEE A LINK MADE BETWEEN THE WORK OF THE ICCS AND US- POLISH BILATERAL RELATIONS. TREPCZYNSKI ADDED THAT HE HAD BEEN INFORMED ONLY A FEW MINUTES BEFORE MY CALL THAT A HELICOPTER HAD BEEN SHOT DOWN " SOMEWHERE IN SOUTH VIETNAM" WITH THREE POLISH OFFICERS IN IT; DETAILS WERE LACKING SO FAR. THIS ILLUSTRATED THE DIFFICULTIES UNDER WHICH THE ICCS WORKED. MOREOVER, THE SAIGON GOVERNMENT DOES NOT SEEM TO BE MOVING TO FULFILL THE POLITICAL PROVISIONS OF THE PEACE AGREEMENTS. WE WOULD NOTE THAT THE POLISH PRESS HAD STOPPED PUBLISHING THE KIND OF REPORTS ON THE SITUATION IN VIETNAM WHICH WE HAD CHARACTERIZED AS TENDENTIOUS. THERE HAD BEEN SOME INACCURACIES IN THESE REPORTS AND THAT KIND OF PRESS COVERAGE HAD BEEN STOPPED. IN CONCLUSION, TREPCZYNSKI HAD SAID, THE DIFFICULTIES WERE GREAT, BUT THE POLISH GOVERNMENT WAS NOW MOVING TO SEE WHAT COULD BE DONE TO CLEAR THEM UP.

3. I SAID THAT WE HAD BEEN OVER THIS GROUND BEFORE, BUT I WISHED TO POINT OUT: (A) WE HAD NEVER CONTENDED THERE WERE VIOLATIONS ON ONE SIDE ONLY. THE POINT WAS THAT THERE APPEARED TO BE NO GREAT DIFFICULTY IN THE ICCS IN AGREEING TO INVESTIGATE ALLEGED VIOLATIONS ON THE SAIGON SIDE. THE DIFFICULTY AROSE WHEN THE CHARGES DEALT WITH DRV/ PRG VIOLATIONS. THEN THE POLES AND HUNGARIANS FOUND WAYS TO DELAY, OBSTRUCT, AND FRUSTRATE THE HOLDING OF INVESTIGATIONS AND THE SUBMISSION OF REPORTS. WITH THE EXPERIENCE THE POLES HAD HAD IN THE OLD ICC, WE HAD EXPECTED THEM NOT TO FALL INTO THE OLD TRAP WHICH HAD FRUSTRATED

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THE EFFORTS OF THAT BODY. IT WAS NECESSARY THAT JUSTICE SHOULD BE DONE IMPARTIALLY AND OBJECTIVELY TO CHARGES REGARDING ALL VIOLATIONS. (B) TALKS HERE, AND IN SAIGON, ABOUT ADMINISTRATIVE

AND SECURITY DIFFICULTIES LOOKED TO US LIKE YET ANOTHER MEANS OF AVOIDING THE ISSUE. THE CANADIANS AND INDONESIANS WORKED UNDER THE SAME CONDITIONS AS THE POLES AND HUNGARIANS. SO THE MINISTER COULD UNDERSTAND OUR CONVICTION THAT INVESTIGATIONS COULD BE UNDERTAKEN AND IMPARTIAL REPORTS PRODUCED, IF THE WILL EXISTED TO DO SO. (C) NO ONE HAD EXPECTED THAT THE ICCS WOULD FIND ITS TASK AN EASY ONE. BUT THE POLES HAD UNDERTAKEN THIS OBLIGATION, A CONCRETE SITUATION NOW EXISTED IN VIETNAM, WHICH MUST BE DEALT WITH, AND WE EXPECTED THE REVIEW THE POLISH GOVERNMENT WAS NOW UNDERTAKING TO RESULT IN IMPROVEMENTS. I COULD ADD ON A PERSONAL BASIS THAT I HAD HEARD IN WARSAW SOME CYNICAL COMMENTS TO THE EFFECT THAT THE PEACE AGREEMENTS WERE SIMPLY DESIGNED TO COVER RELEASE OF US PRISONERS AND WITHDRAWAL OF US FORCES FROM VIETNAM, FOLLOWING WHICH WE WOULD WASH OUR HANDS OF THE WHOLE SITUATION. NOTHING COULD BE FURTHER FROM THE TRUTH. INDEED, THE RETURN OF OUR PRISONERS AND TROOPS HAD ONLY INCREASED THE FEELING OF OUR PEOPLE THAT THOSE WHO WERE NOT SO FORTUNATE AND HAD DIED IN VIETNAM MUST NOT HAVE DONE SO IN VAIN. (D) WITH REGARD TO THE CONNECTION BETWEEN POLISH PARTICIPATION IN THE ICCS AND US- POLISH BILATERAL RELATIONS, I REGARDED THIS AS A POLITICAL FACT OF NATURE, AS I HAD EXPLAINED TO SPASOWSKI EARLIER. THE MINISTER COULD NOT EXPECT THAT SUCH A CONNECTION WOULD NOT BE MADE. WHEN I THOUGHT OF ALL THE ACTIVITIES NOW GOING ON, E. G., THE VISIT OF EX- IM BANK PRESIDENT KEARNS, AND THE PROMISE THEY HAVE FOR THE FUTURE, IT SEEMED TO ME ALL THE MORE IMPERATIVE THAT EFFECTIVE STEPS BE TAKEN TO IMPROVE DECISIVELY THE WORK OF THE POLISH DELEGATION IN THE ICCS.

4. THE MINISTER REPEATED THAT THE GOVERNMENT WOULD BE ACTIVELY REVIEWING THIS WHOLE QUESTION IN THE NEXT FEW DAYS.
DAVIES

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*** Current Handling Restrictions *** EXDIS

*** Current Classification *** CONFIDENTIAL

Message Attributes

Automatic Decaptioning: Z
Capture Date: 01 JAN 1994
Channel Indicators: n/a
Current Classification: UNCLASSIFIED
Concepts:
Control Number: n/a
Copy: SINGLE
Draft Date: 07 APR 1973
Decaption Date: 28 MAY 2004
Decaption Note: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Action: RELEASED
Disposition Approved on Date:
Disposition Authority: morefirh
Disposition Case Number: n/a
Disposition Comment: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Date: 28 MAY 2004
Disposition Event:
Disposition History: n/a
Disposition Reason:
Disposition Remarks:
Document Number: 1973WARSAW01634
Document Source: CORE
Document Unique ID: 00
Drafter: n/a
Enclosure: n/a
Executive Order: RR
Errors: n/a
Film Number: n/a
From: WARSAW
Handling Restrictions: n/a
Image Path:
ISecure: 1
Legacy Key: link1973/newtext/t19730436/aaaahvcf.tel
Line Count: 155
Locator: TEXT ON-LINE
Office: ACTION SS
Original Classification: CONFIDENTIAL
Original Handling Restrictions: EXDIS
Original Previous Classification: n/a
Original Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Page Count: 3
Previous Channel Indicators:
Previous Classification: CONFIDENTIAL
Previous Handling Restrictions: EXDIS
Reference: 73 STATE 064299, 73 STATE 059898
Review Action: RELEASED, APPROVED
Review Authority: morefirh
Review Comment: n/a
Review Content Flags:
Review Date: 10 SEP 2001
Review Event:
Review Exemptions: n/a
Review History: RELEASED <10-Sep-2001 by cunninfx>; APPROVED <15-Oct-2001 by morefirh>
Review Markings:

Declassified/Released
US Department of State
EO Systematic Review
30 JUN 2005

Review Media Identifier:
Review Referrals: n/a
Review Release Date: n/a
Review Release Event: n/a
Review Transfer Date:
Review Withdrawn Fields: n/a
Secure: OPEN
Status: <DBA CORRECTED> gwr 971205
Subject: ICCS: POLISH AND HUNGARIAN OBSTRUCTIONISM
TAGS: MARR, MU, PL, VS
To: BUDAPEST
JAKARTA
OTTAWA
SAIGON
SECSTATE WASHDC
SS
Type: TE

Markings: Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 30 JUN 2005